

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
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DOE-11 CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 /151 W
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0011
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 00889

GENEVA FOR CCD DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, UNGA, US, YO
SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON THE SPECIAL SESSION ON
DISARMAMENT (SSOD)

SUMMARY: IN DISCUSSION WITH USUN OFFICER ON MARCH 10,
YUGOSLAV UN MISOFF VUKOVIC EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE WHICH
NON-ALIGNED ATTACH TO TANGIBLE RESULTS PARTICULARLY IN
THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AT THE SPECIAL SESSION
ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD) AND TO AN ACTIVE, POSITIVE US ROLE
IN MAKING THIS POSSIBLE. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN AT SOVIET
EFFORTS TO DOWNPLAY THE SPECIAL SESSION IN FAVOR OF A
WDC WHICH THE NON-ALIGNED RECOGNIZE IS UNLIKELY TO OCCUR
IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. VUKOVIC INDICATED STRONG
LIKELIHOOD THAT PRESIDENT TITO WOULD ATTEND THE SSOD.

1. US ROLE AT THE SSOD: AFTER REVIEWING THE DIVERGENCES
AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED, WESTERN AND EASTERN VIEWS AS RE-
FLECTED IN THE DRAFTING EXERCISE IN PREPCOM IV, VUKOVIC
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SAID THAT THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP BELIEVES THAT THE SPECIAL
SESSION WOULD BE A SUCCESS ONLY IF THE MAJOR NUCLEAR
WEAPONS STATES -- PARTICULARLY THE US AND USSR -- MAKE
TANGIBLE COMMITMENTS TO THE NEXT STAGES OF NUCLEAR
DISARMAMENT AFTER SALT II AND CTB. THE GENERALIZED FORMU-
LATIONS PRESENTED BY THE WESTERN GROUP AND THE US SO FAR,
HE SAID, GIVE NO ASSURANCE THAT THE SSOD COULD REALLY

MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROCESS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

2. THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES, VUKOVIC SAID, WAS CRITICAL -- EVEN MORE SO THAN THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION IN DETERMINING THE OUTCOME OF THE SPECIAL SESSION. THE US, HE PREDICTED, WOULD BE HEAVILY CRITICIZED BY THE NON-ALIGNED IF IT TOOK ONLY A DAMAGE-LIMITING APPROACH TO THE SSOD. IN REPLY MISOFF RECALLED OUR COMMITMENT TO A POSITIVE APPROACH AND INDICATED THAT THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE INITIATIVES AT THE SSOD WAS UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW IN WASHINGTON. IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC, HOWEVER, FOR THE NON-ALIGNED TO EXPECT THE US TO COMMIT ITSELF TO GIVE UP ITS NUCLEAR DETERRENT, NOR COULD WE AGREE TO A PROGRAM OF ACTION WHICH PREJUDGES THE SUBSTANCE OF POSSIBLE FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND OURSELVES AFTER SALT II.

3. THE SOVIET ROLE: VUKOVIC COMPLAINED THAT THE SOVIET APPROACH AS REFLECTED AT PREPCOM IV WAS TO DOWNPLAY THE POSSIBILITY OF MEANINGFUL ACTION AT THE SSOD IN ORDER TO HIGHLIGHT THE NECESSITY FOR A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC). THE NON-ALIGNED, HE CONTINUED, RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WILL NOT BE A WDC IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE GIVEN CHINESE AND US ATTITUDES. THEREFORE, THE SOVIET POSITION IF IT PREVAILS, WOULD MEAN THERE WOULD BE LITTLE MOMENTUM AT THE SSOD DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. MISOFF INDICA-
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TED OUR OBJECTION TO FURTHER SOVIET EFFORTS TO EXPLOIT THE NEUTRON BOMB ISSUE AT THE CCD AND SSOD, REFERRING TO AMB FISHER'S CCD SPEECH (USMISSION GENEVA 3705). AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAID, IT WAS UNREALISTIC FOR NON-ALIGNED TO BELIEVE THAT THE US ALONE COULD SOMEHOW ASSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION.

4. AFTER PREPCOM IV: IT WAS LIKELY VUKOVIC SAID, THAT CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS COULD BE MADE ON THE DRAFTING OF THE DECLARATION AT THE FIFTH PREPCOM. MOST IMPORTANT AND DIFFICULT ISSUES ON WHICH NEGOTIATIONS PROBABLY WOULD CONTINUE INTO THE SPECIAL SESSION ITSELF WERE IN THE PROGRAM OF ACTION AND MACHINERY SECTIONS. ON THE FORMER, HE MENTIONED (A) DEFINITION OF STEPS TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT; (B) SECURITY ASSURANCES AND (C) NON-PROLIFERATION/PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY RELATIONSHIP. ON SECURITY ASSURANCES, VUKOVIC INDICATED THAT YUGOSLAVIA WAS DRAFTING NEW LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR ASSURANCES REGARDING NON-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE MAJOR MILITARY ALLIANCES WHICH HAVE FORESWORN PRODUCTION OR PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORIES. AS REGARDS NON-PROLIFERATION/PEACEFUL

USES ISSUE, HE GAVE HIS ESTIMATE THAT ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE PROBABLY COULD BE DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF THE PLENARY RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS AT THE 32ND UNGA (USUN 5471, DEC.8, 1977).

5. DISARMAMENT/DEVELOPMENT: VUKOVIC SAID THAT NON-ALIGNED WANT SSOD TO AFFIRM THE DISARMAMENT/DEVELOPMENT RELATIONSHIP AND TO PROVIDE FOR THE CREATION OF SOME MECHANISM BY WHICH SAVINGS FROM DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS IN PART COULD BE TRANSFERRED TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. MISOFF INDICATED THAT SUBJECT WAS UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW IN WASHINGTON AND OUTLINED A NUMBER OF THE PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF AGREEING TO ANY AUTOMATIC ALLOCATION OF FUNDS.
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6. DISARMAMENT MACHINERY: (A) FRENCH INITIATIVE.
VUKOVIC SAID THAT HE AGREED WITH THE OBJECTIVES BUT NOT THE DETAILS OF THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR A UN-LINKED NEGOTIATING FORUM. THE MAIN PROBLEM WITH THE FRENCH

PROPOSAL, HE SAID, WAS THE SELECTION OF MEMBERSHIP -- ESPECIALLY THE IDEA OF TWO-YEAR ROTATIONS FOR NON-PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS. MOREOVER, SOVIETS WOULD NEVER AGREE TO ENLARGING WESTERN PARTICIPATION.

(B) AS REGARDS NON-ALIGNED PROPOSAL FOR A NEW UN DELIBERATIVE BODY, VUKOVIC MADE THE SAME POINTS AS INDIAN REP VELLODI HAD DONE AT PREPCOM IV, I.E., THE FORUM WOULD REDUCE PRESSURES TO ENLARGE CCD MEMBERSHIP, IT WOULD ALLOW CCD TO CONCENTRATE ON ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN WORK ON A COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATING PROGRAM (CNP); AND (C) WOULD FACILITATE PARTICIPATION OF THE FRENCH AND CHINESE IN DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS. MISOFF INDICATED RESERVATIONS ABOUT PROLIFERATION OF UN BODIES AND SKEPTICISM ABOUT PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE OF UN MISSIONS TO DEVELOP CNP AND URGED YUGOSLAVIA TO GIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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FURTHER CAREFUL REFLECTION TO THESE CONSIDERATIONS.

7. YUGOSLAV PARTICIPATION IN THE SSOD: VUKOVIC SAID THAT THERE WAS A "VERY GOOD CHANCE" THAT TITO WOULD ATTEND THE SSOD. HE HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN IT DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND WAS FULLY BRIEFED ON CURRENT PREPARATIONS FOR IT. YOUNG

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